



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

~~~~~  
OCTOBER AND NOVEMBER, 1848.  
~~~~~

LESSONS OF PEACE FROM THE LATE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS IN EUROPE.

THE time has not yet come for a full or confident review of these strange and startling events ; but a passing glance will suffice to gather from them important lessons of instruction and encouragement to the friends of peace.

We learn from these events *where lies the real power of the world*. It is not in sceptres or thrones, not in monarchs or autocrats, not in cabinets or parliaments, not in magazines or forts, not even in drilled police or disciplined armies, but in the mass of the people. It is not in the ruling few, but in the subject millions ; and these, when fully roused, and their energies properly concentrated, rulers can no more withstand than they could beat back the winds of heaven, or the waves of ocean, hold down the volcano, or chain up the lightning. Before a whole people, united, determined and exasperated, the time-hallowed claims of legitimacy, all the forms and prerogatives of hereditary power, are swept away like chaff before a tempest. Everything lies in fact at their will. The power not only of democracy, but of despotism itself, depends on them. Not a throne in Europe or the world, but rests on their support or sufferance.

Here is the main hope of our cause. It looks not to monarchs or presidents, not to premiers or secretaries, not to chambers, or parliaments, or congresses, but to the people themselves, for the power requisite to accomplish its great and beneficent purposes. The cause is their own, — an instrument for their deliverance from the bondage and exactions of a custom which has done more than any other to rob them of their hard, scanty earnings, to strip them of their rights, and keep them continually crushed in the dust under the iron hand of arbi

trary, irresponsible power. We *may* enlist some rulers in our cause ; but we **MUST** win the mass of the people to its support. This we can do, since we plead in their behalf ; and, when we do, rulers, whether democratic or even despotic, must and will come to our aid. Let us win the people ; and everything necessary for our cause is prospectively secured.

In the late events of Europe, moreover, we see the *omnipotence of opinion in matters of government*. It rules everything ; and before the whirlwind of its displeasure nothing can stand. It can make or unmake kings, erect or subvert thrones, create or crush dynasties, arm or disarm an empire, a continent, a world. All the forms, prerogatives and powers of government vanish before it like dew before the rising sun, or like frost before the hot breath of the simoom. All the recent revolutions of Europe sprang directly from this source, from the clear, determined, irresistible demands of public opinion.

Now, here is the great engine of our cause. Public opinion, as the mistress in fact of the civilized world, we seek to change on the subject of intercourse between nations, and to set it universally and irrevocably against the practice of adjusting their difficulties by the sword. Let this once be done ; and war becomes a moral impossibility, and the whole system goes at once to decay, and ere long to utter ruin.

Mark, then, *the extent of change in public opinion on this subject*, as indicated in the late revolutions and reforms of Europe. It is by no means what it should be, yet incomparably better now than in 1792. The difference is wide, and very strongly marked,—a contrast not unlike that of the zenith to the nadir, of day to night. No man of the slightest acquaintance with the French revolution of 1792, and its terrible consequences during twenty-two years of blood, can fail to observe the great and cheering progress which pacific sentiments have made not only in England and France, but more or less, all over Europe. Had public opinion on this subject been in 1848 what it was in 1792, nearly all Europe would, months ago, have been plunged in a general war, the end of which no human eye could have foreseen, but the inevitable effect of which must have been to drench its fairest fields in blood, to waste myriads on myriads of its treasure, to crush its toiling, starving millions in miseries deeper than ever, and put back its own and the world's improvement for ages, if not for centuries. We need not specify proofs ; they must be obvious enough to every well-informed, reflecting mind.

Whence this auspicious change ? Mainly from the agencies set at work for the purpose by the associated friends of peace since the downfall of Napoleon at Waterloo. Other influences, from a variety of sources, have doubtless co-operated, and rendered very important aid ; but the

result is, under God, owing to the cause of peace as truly as the success of temperance or of missions is to the efforts made by the associated friends of those causes. In their case, as well as in the cause of peace, have a vast multitude of collateral and auxiliary agencies been at work in the providence of God; yet nobody dreams of denying to the friends of temperance or of missions the main credit of the success obtained in those enterprises of Christian benevolence and reform. Let people apply to peace the same modes of reasoning, a like exercise of common sense, and they will no longer ascribe to commerce and civilization, to the press and the pulpit, to any general causes of progress, the marked and most auspicious change of public opinion on this subject through the civilized world. True, the cause of peace did not create the agencies or influences now operating in favor of peace; but it did turn them into this channel, and set them at work to produce the change which we now begin to witness; just as the machinist does not make the power which propels his machinery, but merely turns the water or the steam upon his wheels, and there leaves it to work out his purposes. Thus is Christendom at this hour indebted mainly to our cause for the continuance of its general peace.

The late events in Europe teach us, moreover, *the vast superiority of moral power over brute force in securing the rights of mankind.* The revolutions, reforms or improvements recently achieved or promised for the people there, are nearly all the result of moral influence in the form of public opinion and popular demands. Here is the true secret of safe and salutary reforms in government to protect the rights, and advance the general welfare of the people; and, if they would insure both in perpetuity, they should adopt and apply the principles of peace.

We see, also, *the chief design of standing armies.* It is to uphold the rotten, crumbling systems of despotism; and it is quite time for the people of Christendom to see that they are employing nearly three millions of their own number, and paying hundreds of millions every year, just to keep their masters secure on their thrones, and themselves quiet and harmless in subjection to their sway. Such, from time immemorial, has been, the world over, the main purpose and effect of the war system,—the worst of all foes to the liberties, rights and interests of the people. In the late convulsions of Europe, every government, in its conflict with its subjects, threw itself upon its standing armies as their only reliance,—a most significant fact, and clearly indicative of what the people must do to shake from themselves the incubus of hereditary despotism and oppression.

We learn, too, *where lies the control of these very armies* — IN POPULAR OPINION. This it was that disarmed or paralyzed the mercenary

myrmidons of France, and Austria, and other countries of Europe, and even turned them, in some cases, against their employers; and, without public sentiment more or less in their favor, monarchs will yet find their own ruin from the very legions they are employing at such vast expense for the support of their thrones.

The late crisis in Europe shows, moreover, *how little reliance can be put upon soldiers for the support of authority, or the enforcement of law*. Here is the grand plea for our own militia; but these movements prove it utterly futile, and even suicidal. Soldiers catch the popular feeling; they fraternize with the people, and draw their swords to protect them even against the government, and against efforts to suppress and punish acknowledged crime.

Take the case of Vienna as a specimen of the whole. "Every night," says a writer on the spot, "*emeutes* take place in the public streets; the houses of unpopular persons have been demolished, and in some cases lives are lost. These rows have now become a pastime; they are announced a day beforehand; and all those who take an interest in such things are invited to be present. The national guard always muster in great force, fully armed and accoutred, at such scenes; but they come *merely to protect the rioters from interruption*, and not to prevent the work of destruction. I was present last night when the mob attacked the Carlo Theatre, a new and very beautiful building, situated close to the park. There were present at least 1000 national guard, armed with sword and musket, who stood quietly drawn up in line whilst the mob demolished the theatre." So will it ever be in cases of high, general excitement; and, should such an excitement overspread our own country from one end to the other, or pervade an entire state or city, our militia would, for the most part, prove a mob or rebellion ready-armed for its lawless purposes of violence and mischief.

We learn, also, *the necessity of laboring for our cause* IN SEASON. Europe needed for its recent crisis the conservative, pacific influences accumulated during more than thirty years of general peace; and, but for those influences, she would have been at once whelmed in blood, and wrapt in fire. These years of peace have been the great seed-time of our cause; and its friends, the whole Christian community, every lover of God or man throughout Christendom, *ought* to have been all that time hard at work in scattering broadcast the seeds of pacific principle and feeling in every civilized country. God be praised that so much had been done in this way; but tenfold, a hundredfold more might and should have been done; and, now that peace prevails for the most part through Christendom, it behooves the friends of this cause to bestir themselves far more than ever in its behalf, and thus

raise, while they may, a moral barrier sufficient, under God, to prevent the return of war with the wide and terrible sweep of its evils.

The present condition, as well as the recent experience, alike of Europe and America, *is preparing the way for effective measures in behalf of general, permanent peace.* The evils of our own war with Mexico; the far greater evils sure to come from a war between us and any of the great European powers, or between those powers themselves; the danger which even rulers are beginning to apprehend from standing armies; the extreme difficulty of raising, in these times of revolution and commercial embarrassment, the means of support for such vast armies; the sure and steady, if not rapid, development of pacific principles through the civilized world; the feeling forced at length upon rulers, that they *must* relieve the people in some measure from their burdens, and contrive to govern them, and regulate the intercourse of nations, by other means than the cannon and the sword; — these and many other causes are preparing the way for the adoption of pacific measures that might, a few years ago, have been scouted; such as a gradual, simultaneous, proportionate reduction of armies all over Europe, the adoption of such substitutes as stipulated arbitration to prevent war, and some decisive steps to secure in time a congress of nations that shall supersede forever all occasion for war by enabling nations to adjust their difficulties very much as individuals now do theirs. We have no space for argument on these points; but proofs and illustrations in abundance are at hand.

THE AMERICAN CHURCH ON THE SUBJECT OF WAR.

BY AARON FOSTER, PLYMOUTH, MASS.

1. *How is the church connected with the state in war?*

The people of this country believe that Christianity cannot be propagated, nor its just rights be defended, by the sword. The government and people think themselves very far indeed from the thought of defending by war the forms or principles of Christianity.

I believe there is nothing of which the Protestant Christians of the United States are more certain, than they are of this, that Christianity cannot be advanced nor defended by the sword of war, and that it has nothing to hope, but everything to fear, from the sword as its defence. The history of Christianity, in using war to advance its interests, has fully proved the language of our Saviour true, "All they that take the sword, shall perish by the sword." The American church has put up the sword into its place of rest from church uses. On this point *public opinion* is with the church. The state is as far from raising armies to serve the church, as the church is from asking such service of the